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services. Today an intermediary is looked upon by stricter parents with scorn as one who aids and abets intrigues, but there is no reason to assume that he was similarly regarded in former times. The gifts exchanged between lovers are tapu, to be used by the lovers alone. Another who wittingly or unwittingly wore *wakatapu* clothes or ate *wakatapu* food would be committing a disgraceful act (*luua*) termed *kai wakatapu*. The punishment for breaking this tapu is boils on the body and swellings over the eyes. Thus if the father of a family commits adultery and receives gifts of food from his mistress which he allows his children to eat, his children will suffer from sickness. Informants suggested that this is a good explanation for the incidence of hereditary ulcers and swellings that seem to visit successive generations of certain Pukapukan families, though they were unable to rationalize the fact that the gifts were dangerous to outsiders in the first instance.

MARRIAGE

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Monogamy is the rule in marriage. In those exceptional cases of contemporary sororate or levirate, only the sibling with whom a person first lived was considered the married mate. Of the plural wives of individual men in the genealogies, informants stated that they were successive. Only one story collected concerns a polygamous man of Pukapuka (1). As divorce was easily achieved, the stimulus to polygamy which might otherwise have come from the desire for issue was not great, nor was the status of chiefs sufficiently elevated to provide an economic incentive for polygamy.

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The paternal lineage (*po*) and sub-lineage (*wakavae*) are nominally neither endogamous nor exogamic. (See table 8.) Closeness of blood relationship, which depends on the numerical size of the lineage, is the limiting factor in intra-lineage marriage.

Table 8. Intermarriage Between Paternal Lineages^a

	NGAKE		LOTO		YATO		Yemo- tanga
	Matanga	Muliwutu	Yangalipale	i Taa	Yalongo	Yayi	
Matanga, Ngake	9	5	2	6	1	—	—
Muliwutu, Ngake	4	—	3	5	—	1	—
Yangalipale, Loto	1	—	—	—	—	1	—
i Taa, Loto	5	1	2	1	—	—	—
Yalongo, Yato	—	—	3	—	—	4	—
Yayi, Yato	5	2	2	4	2	5	—
Yamanga, Yato	1	1	—	—	—	1	—

^a Table 8 shows the amount of inter- and intra-lineage marriage in households which came within the census. The boxes indicate inter-marriage between the paternal lineages of each village.

582 recorded in the census were between persons belonging to the same maternal
613 lineage. Inter-sub-lineage marriages show no special preference when the
numerically larger size of some of the lineages is considered (table 9). The
six irregular, incestuous intra-lineage marriages occur within the three
largest sub-lineages, two each in *keinanga* Yelu, Kava, and Kati.

121 From census figures based on village residence of mates prior to mar-
riage, rather than on official village membership, it appears that there is a
slight tendency toward intra- as against inter-village marriage, though it is
not clear that there is any sociological factor influencing this tendency.

162 Of a total of 218 adults covered by the census, who are of marriageable
587 age, 30 are at present unmated. Of these unmarried adults, 10 are widows,
7 widowers, 3 divorcés, 4 divorcées, 4 very old spinsters, 2 bachelors well
past the marrying age. The marital status of 147 people is given below:

	Once Married	Twice Married	Thrice Married	Total
Males	54	18	—	72
Females	53	21	1	75

Of 66 marriages functioning at present, 41 are between mates whose
only marriage is the present one. Twenty-five marriages are between persons
of whom one or both have been previously married. Types of marriages in
this category and the number of each are:

Single man with widow, 5; single man with divorcée, 4; single woman with widower,
3; single woman with divorcé, 3; widower with widow, 5; widower with divorcée, 1;
divorcé with widow, 2; divorcé with divorcée, 1; single man with widow-divorcée, 1.
Of these 25 marriages, 16 are those in which a previously unmarried person mated with
someone previously mated. It thus appears that a previous marriage terminated by
divorce or death is no bar to remarriage with a previously unmated person.

RESTRICTIONS

582 Persons related by blood may not marry unless they are of the third gen-
eration removed from the common ancestor. Individuals in the relationship
588 of cousin-in-avoidance (*uole atua*) may not marry so long as the common
ancestor is remembered. On the whole island five marriages between cousins-
in-avoidance are known, a very small percentage of the total number of mar-
riages. One of the six irregular intra-sub-lineage marriages is also a mar-
riage between cousins-in-avoidance and thus represents double incest. The
attitude of the community to these incestuous marriages is discussed else-
where (p. 263).

595 There is no pattern of contemporary sororate. Occasionally a man lives
687 at one time with two women who are sisters. Such a man is referred to as
tangata kai uole (house eater), a term of reproach and ridicule, applied also
to one who commits incest. No rule governs successive sororate. The mar-

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riage of a man to his deceased wife's sister might be desired and actively encouraged by her family if he was regarded as a good man, a hard worker, a skilled fisherman, and one worth keeping attached to the family. Similar remarks apply to the levirate. A woman living at one time with two brothers is termed *wauine kai uale*. Informants believed that the woman and the brother not her husband would both die early deaths as punishment for the sin. In successive levirate, if the deceased husband had been generous (*atawai*) to them, the widow's family would urge her to marry the deceased's brother.

PERSONAL CHOICE OF MATE

581 Informants suggested that the following qualities were desirable when choosing a wife: beauty of body, breeding certainties, industry and skill at crafts, wealth in talo gardens and coconut trees. Some felt that obedience and a good reputation were important, others that an industrious and fruitful wife was a better choice than any other. Veti regarded it as immaterial how fruitfulness is proved, whether by a man's own effort or by the efforts of another lover and in this he expresses general opinion.

581 The cultural ideal of beautiful womanhood is in terms of averages only.
582 The ideal has: eyes wide apart, a high nose, small firm breasts, a well filled-out body, medium thick lips, and curly or wavy hair. Add to these an average height (a short stature according to western standards), a physically strong and powerful body, light brown skin with an abundance of whitish *tinea* marks, and the ideal is complete. A man or a woman who is trying to win a mate will often make special efforts to beautify the body and to appear industrious, hoping that appearances will help to make the desired mate more sympathetic to the suit. This is termed *wahakume*.

WEDDING

584 Formal courtship having been initiated by *wahatapu* gifts of food, ornaments, and other articles of value, marriage is discussed between the two young people.

583 When an agreement is reached, the matter is referred to their relatives. If both groups are agreed, the young man goes one evening to the girl's house, sleeps there with the girl, and stays until morning (*wakamalame*). From his presence in the girl's household in the early morning, the people of the village know that the marriage (*wahawango*) is accomplished. A young man not intending marriage might sleep with a girl in her house at night but would leave before dawn; this is called *tangotango* and does not imply any obligations on either side.

583 A man set on marrying a girl who at first refuses him makes frequent and regular presents of fish, nuts, talo, even fishhooks, to her parents, and helps them at every opportunity in house building, canoe making, etc. The parents soon realize his object. They talk to their daughter, telling her she ought to marry the man. If the girl refuses, they give her a thrashing, saying that as they have accepted all the presents, they will be ashamed before the whole island if she does not pay back this indebtedness. Willing or

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who was easily angered, and he went to live in another¹⁵⁹
house. ⁵⁹³

After we had been married for some time Ono told me¹⁵⁹
to have a child. I was afraid I could not. I thought that my⁸³³
mind was not sufficiently set on having a child. But after
two years I bore a son. I wanted the first child to be a girl,
Ono wanted a boy. We had intercourse almost every night,¹⁵⁹
without exception right up to the time that labor pains set⁸⁴⁵
in. The delivery was hard. It lasted a day, a night, and
until noon the next day. Ono helped me with his arms,
holding me and giving me all the support I needed. My
milk came in three days. It was plentiful. We waited for¹³⁴
a month after the delivery until the blood and water had
dried up before having intercourse again. The second child,¹⁵⁹
a boy, and the third, a girl, came along after this and I¹⁶⁵
cannot remember anything special. Our fourth child, a
boy, died after he had reached the crawling stage. Soon
after the birth of the fifth child, another boy, Ono died.

We buried Ono in his family cemetery. Not long after¹⁵⁹
this, Witu, whose wife was dead, came to court me as did⁵⁹³
many other men. They thought that I would make a good⁵⁸⁷
wife for them because I had so many children. I did not
like the way the men came to the house at night because I
thought the children would wake and see us together. When
Witu asked me to marry him I agreed because I wanted
someone to be a father to my children. Witu had had a son
by his first wife but the child was dead. I took my children
and went to live in Witu's house, the house where we are
living now down by the pond. Witu is a good husband to me.
He is never angry. He is always pleasant. He is a good
fisherman. He is a good lover. These two babies that I have
now, they are Witu's sons. He is delighted with them.
That is why you always see him playing with them if he is
home when you come to our house.